

/Pages i-iv are title pages./

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Foreword

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I wrote this book in collaboration with the tribes of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and particularly the Seksawa. Nothing is more fierce, better preserved than these sons of the black schist. The dizzy slope that goes up to one of their high places, the Tichka, bears an isolated tree that they call tasghart wawal, something like "the tree of speech." They administer its leaves in an infusion to children slow to speak. I have spent a good deal of time myself in unraveling the language of the Seksawa.

Abandoning the doubtful method of the "informant" and of questionnaires, I would let the problems and the facts come to me. A year passed before I reached the level of the accounts composed, around 1925, at Imintanout by Lieutenant de La Chapelle. I collected the best of my provender almost by chance, by means of visits in the mountains, long talks on the roads, judicial debates, festivals, everings. Thus friendships and knowledge deepened simultaneously.

I had the joy of sharing the one as well as the other with many visitors. They will recognize themselves here. Perhaps they will conjure up, in reading such and such a page, that brief and shining hour, the irreplaceable bit of life that momentarily united us in the history of the Atlas.

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This book, therefore, was written in communication. Although it does not claim the authority of any of those who have read it in manuscript, by pieces or in its totality, it has greatly benefited from their remarks. All were valuable to it. But I could not say whether it has always profited from them as much as it should have. I can therefore neither hierarchize the gratitude nor have understood by it that I am acting on the authority of such and such of the masters who have expressly wished to advise me. The imperfections of my work will be alone, alas, to face the too-just criticism. I do, however, acknowledge my debt to MM. G. Davy, L. Gernet, R. Montagne, /vi/ J. Célérier.

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J. Dresch, F. Braudel, L. Milliot, H. Terrasse, E. Lévi-Provençal, J. Despois, E. Laoust, J. Orieux, G. H. Bousquet, A. Adam. The Institut des Hautes Études marocaines /Institute of Moroccan Advanced-Studies/ has given me most substantial aid. M. L. Galand checked the Berbère /Berber/ writing, lessons in which, by M. A. Basset, had given me a presentiment as to its exacting niceties. I am indebted to Lucie Berque for her drawings, to M. Leloup for his cartography, to M. J. Van den Hove for his careful proofreading. To all, thanks. And thanks to all my collaborators from Imintanout, great and small, French and Moroccan, who participated in the research or in working it up. Many names crowd under my pen here, names which I cannot mention for lack of space and which I must leave in the anonymity of friendship.

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Most of all, it is to the Seksawa that my gratitude goes. Mixing in their life for several years, I advanced slowly into their acquaintance, and perhaps into their confidence. Of course, I have not been to the end of the one or the other. In order to go further, it would have required a still longer stay and, to speak truthfully, a definitive naturalization, similar to that which, in the course of the centuries, brought so many distant sons to the little people of Lalla Aziza.

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All was rightly so. As great as its ambitions were, analysis stops before intimacies which it could not infringe upon and which will be revealed only when they can be, when they need to be, if there is still time for it. The future in the Atlas, as elsewhere, will perhaps make the silent speak. We shall leave to it the task of completing our research, if it is worth the trouble, on the day when the Seksawa have tasted of the tree of speech.

Cairo, October 1, 1954.

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Note on the Transcriptions, Sigla,
and Abbreviations

A) Transcriptions

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Although based on a mass of names of places and groups, this research has no linguistic aims. It has therefore resigned itself to a summary system of transcriptions, those used, for example, by the "Bibliotheca arabica" of the Université d'Alger /University of Algiers/, the periodical Ibla of Tunis, etc. Some of the sounds peculiar to the Chleuh⁷/Schluh/ are therefore rendered only very roughly. It is considered that as a general rule the local speech disregards the long vowels and that, on the other hand, the laryngeal fricative, characteristic of Arabic (where we render it by the rude character C), was so little stressed that it could be transcribed, as E. Laoust does in some of his work, by an g.

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As modest as they may be, these ambitions did run into certain difficulties, from the time that one had to note the distinctive manner of the Berbère /Berber/ speech of the Seksawa, the Arabic vernacular that they occasionally use (and the citations in which we have preceded by the sigla ar), and their notarial language with its technological turn and classical pretensions. And these distinctions sometimes force their way through, for the same word, which it is therefore necessary to transcribe differently a few lines apart.

The truth is that a contradiction lay between the importance conferred on the linguistic material by our inquiry and the impossibility of rigorously rendering all these names and all these words, with which we were met for lack of typographic means and, above all, of specialization.

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Finally, the circumstances that took me away from the Atlas and from Morocco at the time of the printing of the book kept me from the final verifications and prevented my taking from the dedicated checking by M. L. Galand all the profit that might have been expected from so valuable a contribution.

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B) Sigla

a.	alt /a Berber word that frequently precedes the name of a tribe; see p.584 , n. 1/	I. A. A. ...	Institut Agricole d'Algérie /Agricultural Institute of Algeria/
ar.	Arabic	I.	Idaw
arch. ...	archives	Im.	Imintanout
art. ...	article	in.	inédit /unpublished/
b.	ibn	R.	Revue /Review/
B. N. ..	Bibliothèque Nationale	t.	tome
chl. ...	Chleuh /Shluh/	tr.	translation
c. r. ...	compte rendu /report/	Ud.	Awlâd
éd.	edition	vol.	volume

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C) Abbreviations

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They refer to the following collections and periodicals:

- Afr. fr., "l'Afrique française" (1891...), Paris.
- A. M. or Arch. mar., "Archives marocaines," Paris (1904-1936), then Rabat.
- Ann. géo., "Annales de géographie" (1891...), Paris.
- Ann. hist. soc., "Annales d'histoire économique et sociale" (1930-1939), then "Annales d'histoire sociale" (1939-41 and 1945), "Mélanges d'histoire sociale" (1942-1944), becoming in 1946 "Annales (économies-sociétés-civilisations)," this latter series sometimes being specified "Ann. E. S. C.," Paris.
- Ann. soc., "L'Année sociologique" (1st series 1923-1924, 2nd series 1939-1940, "Annales sociologiques," 3rd series 1948-1949), Paris.
- Bull. E. P. M., "Bulletin de l'enseignement public du Maroc," Rabat.
- CHEAM, "Documentation du Centre de Hautes Études d'administration musulmane," Paris.
- Hesp., "Hesperis," Berbère /Berber/ archives and bulletin of the Institut des Hautes Études marocaines (T. I: 1924...), Paris.

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R. afr., "Revue africaine" (T. I: 1856), Algiers.

R. al., "Revue algérienne, tunisienne et marocaine de législation et de jurisprudence" (1886...) (a continuation of "Revue algérienne et tunisienne de législation et de jurisprudence," 1885), Algiers.

Rens. col., "Renseignements coloniaux," appendix to the bulletin of l'Afrique française, Paris.

R. E. I., "Revue des Études islamiques" (T. I: 1927), Paris.

R. J. C., "Revue des jurisprudence coutumière," unpublished periodical of the management of Affaires chérifiennes, Rabat.

Sour. in., "Collection des sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc /Collection of unpublished sources on the history of Morocco/," Paris (followed by initials and figures indicating the series and the country being considered).

/34 cont./

592 Is it a matter of the Atlas, of its "patriarchal families" and
616 of its leff-s? Not at all, but of the Basques (1)
[11]

1. J. Caro Baroja, Los pueblos de España /The pueblos of Spain/, Barcelona, 1946, p. 274. Cf. in Ann. hist. soc., 1951, pp. 497 sq., the review of this specialist's works. In Derecho consuetudinario y economía popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II, J. Costa presents a remarkable study on the different family types in the N. of Spain, pp. 234 sq. This will not be the only time that we shall refer to Spanish documentation, not with the aim of comparison, but of geographical analogy.

and of the duality that put them in opposition as onacinos and gamboinos in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But let us leave this comparison, which is only a petty amusement. Let us interest ourselves in divining from facts and simple images the connections of the individual and the family in this part of the Atlas. Let us acknowledge immediately that this chapter will not be conclusive: first, because at this place the goal is only to describe, without prejudging the economic and juridical analyses which alone permit prolonging the description in interpreting it. And also, and especially, because in the present state of the psychological studies on the Maghreb, one could claim here only to furnish some material for the investigations to come.

595 The Seksawa are monogamous. Presently among them there is not a hundredth of the individuals who have two or three spouses. Moreover, it is a matter of individuals out of the ordinary. A study pushed further might reveal among taqbilt-s instructive diversities concerning the role of polygamy, concerning nuptiality, and concerning the proportion of divorces. By and large the strength of the matrimonial bond asserts itself proportionately as /35/ one goes up the valley. But a contrast vigorous in other ways sets the

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
[823] two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgur-
zatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collec-
tive agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important be-
cause of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison be-
tween a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain

This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have

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[166]

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of
a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very re-
cent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caId" /51/
Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their
Sokrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above
(Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin,
etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity
that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality.
Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are
compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore,
fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted syn-
thesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered sym-
metrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the
Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them
in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream,
the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to
say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, be-
fore touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
132 massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
233 meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
243 shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a
well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Ait Abdella]

133 /58 cont./
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in fact, is not far away: the true Seksawa world, or rather that which has remained such, is going to begin.

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But our rapid description of the country, and of its cantonal personalities, has followed a contrary order. Inversely of the modern explorer or Arab chronicler, it began by departing from on high, by descending from the Tichka. It would be better to do this: the Seksawa mountain is completely a house that one understands better from the interior. With the a. Abdella, we have arrived here, by way of a corridor with multiple quirks, in the vestibule, which looks out on the plain. And since the plain is not, or is no longer, a part of this history, let us stop the exploration here.

/59/

V. Historical Backgrounds

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One does not write history with nothing. But this "nothing" can itself be historical. This is the case for the Seksawa. Since the end of the fourteenth century, the chronicles have remained silent about them. Barely a few comments, brief and far apart. Nothing, or almost, on the two centuries and a half that preceded the period accessible for the first information gathered on the spot by the Europeans. Nothing from the outside at least. This life retired within itself. Previously it had known greater ambitions and, correlatively, gave rise to several testimonies, including the one of a great historian. A few lines from this past are thus disentangled.

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Characteristics of the Past of the Seksawa (1)

1. We have tried to disentangle these principal lines in a work: "Antiquités Seksawa /Seksawa Antiquities/," Hesp., 1953, which it seemed to us preferable to publish separately. Not only by reason of exigencies of economy in printing, but also and especially because these "Antiquités" present a conjectural character or rest

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/footnote 1 continued/ above all on bookish sources, not very abundant and exterior to the society being considered. On the contrary, the developments that one is going to read below rest entirely on a local and firsthand documentation. Finally, they touch directly on a morphological analysis of this society in its present stage.

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From the farthest that one goes back, a strong and savage personality, which makes an impression on Ibn Khaldūn. In the fourteenth century, it produces these high figures of intrigue and opposition, who are the Seksawa kings. The first Mérinides come after that, not, as a matter of fact, by conquest, but by blockade. In the low valley they build the fortress of al-Qāhira (1353), which deprives these montagnards of their clearances in the plain, that is to say, of their arable lands and of their winter pastures. This effraction in their rural order destroys their offensive force and breaks up their structure. It is all over for the Arab alliances, the designs on Marrakech, the Sous, and the littoral. Their great history is all over for the Seksawa.

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Thus is explained the physiognomy, every refusal with regard to the powers and ideologies of the rest of Morocco, which they present henceforth. With an untiring constancy they proceed against the mystic revolution of the fifteenth century, against the enterprise of the /60/ Saʿdians, then against those of the Alaouites, with the same resistance as against the Mérinides. But no longer any great ambitions. Now their opposition is no more than rebellion. Because of a triple phenomenon: economic decline, intellectual fall, increasing crumbling of Maghrebi life, the great leagues, the long hopes have disappeared. "Spitefulness" remains. I mean the fervor to live. It is served by the powerlessness of the powers of the plain, the harshness of the country. But it bears only institutions more and more adulterated, shameful, and which render homage, through a spirit of compromise and of "part for the fire" /sacrifice some in order to save

174 /60 cont./
some/, to the very one against which they rebel. Veritable archeological excavations are necessary in order to recover something of the original structures under many layers of elaboration. The exploration is worth being attempted. Because it has available here something very nearly unique in North Africa, the thread of a continuity attested to by the identification of the places, the chronological cross-checkings, finally a tradition.

ooo A bitter and violent tradition: the mountain grants asylum to the unsuccessful pretenders, conspires in all the intrigues, seizes the occasion for all the bad blows, brigandage, rebellions, sorcery. By that it restrains itself from all positive hope. It only wants -- but it wants this obstinately, heroically -- to conceal from any intrusion its petty internal quarrels and perhaps the unconscious nostalgia for the great things that might have been accomplished. In that it finds its freedom. It safeguards, in its exiguous cadre, a kind of methodological greatness. Vein, impoverished, but unfailing, of the life of the oldest Maghreb.

Internal Sources

a) Morphology of the groups...

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175 Let us not ask anything else of this distant past. The only thing that counts for us here is the historical background of the realities that we are going to investigate. But if we renounce, and for cause, the lessons of the great history from which the Seksawa have been cut off for half a millennium, it is in order to resort to another series of documents, these internal and of an un hoped-for richness.

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619 The present structure of a taqbilt is a catalogue of origins. No less than its historical permanence, its heterogeneity is a key to explanation. It subjects the alleged genealogies of the different ikhs-s, among which it is divided, to the incessant competition of rival claims and to the criterion of practical applications. The economy thus comes to authenticate these traditions. If they /61/ retain, for the oldest part, some legendary imprecision, they

/61 cont./

613 One may weigh the interest of these investigations of civil
• 128 status, if I may venture to say it, bearing on each ikhs, its origin,
its character. Their most immediate result, one will see some
examples of this below, is to reveal an extreme complexity in
groups presenting themselves today as units.

/62/

b) Familial archives...

212 A second source, no less rich and more propitious for the
613 usual methods of erudition, is offered by the family archives.
This society is enamored of the written word. It is indeed rare
[415] if each one does not save old papers, put in a "goatskin,"
tawulkt, or more rarely in a chest. They are rolled in volumen.
One slips them into a cylindrical box made from a piece of reed.
In this dry climate, preservation is almost indefinite. Still rare
for the dates before the beginning of the sixteenth century, these
documents become more and more frequent starting from this
epoch. The great families preserve them by the thousands.
[691] Merely their inventory, drawn up at the time of legal disputes
between heirs, sometimes occupies several pages. Inexhaustible
contribution to research, for which they reserve the most
unhoped-for windfalls. To be sure, it is protected by its diffi-
culties of access and of deciphering. These illegible scrawls are
jealously kept from the gaze of others, a fortiori from the out-
sider and the administrator, for they conceal, if not powers, at
least an intimacy that one wants to safeguard against any hold
[195] over one. Worn and often faded writing, drawn up in a notarial
language studded with barbarisms and idioms, their utilization
generally requires the help of scholars of the country, alone
capable of interpreting them.

Be that as it may, they constitute an inestimable source on
the juridical, hence economic and social life of these olden
times. From generation to generation, one can follow there the
same names of ikhs and thus cross-check the traditional structure
of the group. Beyond these verifications of civil status, they
allow retracing quite surely the estate formation of the valley
lands during the last two centuries at least. One can draw from

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/footnote 1 continued/ Egyptian edition, 1930, a breviary of erudite centos and good-woman advice, with numerous agricultural references, is sold throughout North Africa, and, it is said, even in Egypt. It would be interesting to know if the "mahone calendar" used in Algeria by sailors and peasants has any link with this Mussulman folklore.

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Finally, beside /131/ the old rural celebrations, like the "New Year," yenneyr, or "Candlemas," langra, the Mussulman fasti, following the lunar year and hence disconnected from the first two rhythms, also introduce their holiday or cease-work periods. Whence a complex system. The study that might be made of it for a given milieu would be suggestive. But it would rather come under the jurisdiction of folklore. At first sight, it is the similitudes with the rest of the Maghreb, even Arab, rather than peculiarities that would constitute the principal problem here (1).

[171]

1. We shall find at various times the same Maghrebi community, subjacent, in a way, to regional developments. To speak like A. Varagnac, the "archéocivilisation" of North Africa is one. From that perhaps comes the fact that ethnology is so little efficacious in accounting for the veritable characteristics of the different regions. The originality is not in the "foundation," it is in the treatments that it has undergone, that is to say, in the history.

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Two investigations will be detached from it as better adapted to the character of our work: first, on the unfolding of the agricultural campaign; then on the functions devolving, in the bosom of the group, on such and such subgroups.

/142 cont./

241 Although one cannot /143/ calculate it, beyond doubt an enormous increase of density characterizes, in relation to the plains economy, that of the mountains.

A concentration of work and of life, the will marking everything, a deliberate agronomy, sharpening the ancestral practices by a reasoning capable of evaluating the action of factors and causes -- such aspects are frequent and decisive. But they are [184] not observed uniformly in all the cantons. If the hydraulics furnishes a criterion convenient for classifying these small societies, other factors compete there which are not found everywhere in the same degree. Their ideal union would make this montagnard 182 an economic being perfectly adapted to his milieu, who would 241 squeeze from it, by livestock breeding and tillage, the tree and the garden, every resource possible. But there is nothing of that. Adaptation of the group to its natural milieu, realization of equilibria, employing an economy propitious to a great history, which other aptitudes of these societies would postulate: all that has remained at a low, precarious level, or rather has consolidated in the regression. Why?

Creation of Soils, Collection of Water

242 The basic work in the mountains is the preservation and even 312 the creation of soils. It is mixed with another essential task, that of the regularization of the water. Let us therefore examine 128 simultaneously these two activities, which the native agronomy does not distinguish.

171 In a completely different milieu, that of the pre-Saharan plateaus, a peristyle bordering on the S. this Mediterranean world that Romania energetically made advance into Africa, such techniques have been remarkably described (1).

1. J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949, pp. 174 sq.

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/201 cont./

property is not always distributed solely among these great ikhs-s, 4 in number, a. H'qqi, a. H'amed, a. Jjaw, a. Mzird'ad', but among several minor ikhs-s, 14 in number. An order of distribution is evident here, and all the more since it asserts itself, being a matter of lineages not as large as the great ikhs-s, with a minutia pushed further than at Agersill, for example. The table below has grouped the number of parcels possessed by each family in each of the 33 quarters. /202/ /Table appears here./

/203/ 1) Cross-checking the parcellary rule gives only 51% confirmation, if we consider the ensemble of the 14 families and 33 quarters. But a simple look at the table shows that the anomaly is concentrated on the last three quarters and the last four families. If one leaves them aside, the rule is confirmed for more than 70%. That despite the local presence of a family of chiefs whose personal expansion goes back for three generations. And despite the vulnerability of the a. Musa to the causes of disaggregation of the montagnard system, and the principal ones of which originate from the plain and from the power of the plain. To what is this anomaly due? To the fact that the four participants given at the end of the list are, for two of them, a. Sh'aq, residual population, and, for the others, allogeneous. As for the three aberrant quarters, they are the ones served by a third séguia coming from the torrent of the a. Mh'nd: adjunction outside the system. Thus the structure is logical. And one will be apprised of its perfection even better if one accedes to the present explanation according to which it was the caïd Chtittli, father of the present amghar, who would have (thus about 1900) broken up the larger indivision, dispersing over the whole a. Musa section of valley the vocation of the different ikhs-s "from below and above," and set apart as their own for "those from above" only ait Ufella, the present sector. A vivification of the communitarian rule, an application pushed to an echelon more precise than that of the great ikhs-s have perhaps resulted from it. The re-establishment of the a. Musa on their ground brought about a rejuvenation of their structural law.

[Mez'ud'a]

312 /224 cont./
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analogies which would come out false, in view of the stage of unfolding and the personal genre of the Mez'ud'a.

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Let us moreover hail in passing these original developments which not only illustrate the vitality of each group, when it is not struck by decadence, or external troubles, but the liaison of this vitality with particular techniques. The latter are all centered, as Taine would have said, on a "master idea" of the group. Thus, they occasionally reach the consciousness not only of the experts, but of the common citizens.

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Perhaps one now has the right to systematize some notes, only the most striking of which have been recorded above, but which one could multiply indefinitely, if one did not fear making the enumeration excessively fastidious. But would this indeed be rash? Would it not be necessary first to continue the probings over the whole extent of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed, more broadly, the Berbère /Berber/ world? We were not able to do it directly, but oral information confirms that the phenomena observed here are found at the very least on the periphery of the tribes of Imintanout, from the Gedmiwa to the Aghbar and to the Idaw Mh'mud. On the other hand, it is superfluous to say that the minutiae of such analyses, involving the twin call on the toponymy, the parcellary topography, and the morphology of the groups, have hardly tempted researchers in the rest of the Maghreb (1).

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1. In any case, it would not appear without interest that at the other end of North Africa, in the Aurès, the opportunities for direct investigation have permitted us to find it indeed lively.

A striking trait of the western Aurès is the parallelism of the two great valleys of the Wād 'Abdi and the Wād Labyod', which constitute two streets of peopling. Life stretches out along these natural paths, in a roughly N.E.-S.W. orientation. Thus it is with the two great rival

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/footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

- 128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

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The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

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1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

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Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.

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Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individualized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" organized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehement aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.

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Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate organization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy. The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

[Ait Lh'sen]

/253 cont./

- 128 But this collection of facts and images cannot take the analysis very far. What does stand out is the variety, and also the incoherence among traits of different order and character. Let us now look at the synthesis that takes place at the cantonal echelon.

A Ritual Personality: the A. Lh'sen

- 221
796 The religious life of the a. Lh'sen experiences a paroxysm at the time of the feasts of summer. Huge slaughterings of goats are practiced, followed by auctions of portions of fresh meat for the benefit of the saints (2).

2. Cf. J. Berque, "Viande fraîche et droit communal /Fresh meat and communal law/," in Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^e) /A notarial Arabo-Shluh glossary of the Deren (eighteenth century)/, R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq.

It also experiences a secondary peak: the agapae of yenneyr, "January," also called lmârdif n-tgellatin. "feasts with the turnips," because this root in particular, which reaches maturity then, is consumed there. The agape is celebrated in the "mosque," ljâma, timezgida. Although the first of these two forms of feast is not necessarily connected to the cult of a saint, nor the second to an oratorical villager, they are made pendant, so to speak, at times, in places, and according to styles that contrast.

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794 It is still in the duration of the agricultural life that the "stipulated service" is registered, the chchard' of the marabouts, to whom the canton pays an annual cens in exchange for protection, either general, as is the case for Sidi Ah'med u Ali, or specialized in certain tasks, as is the case for others. This is a mechanism of assurances, in the full sense of the term, and which is exercised in time with a thoroughly fiscal minutia. A first sending of the first fruits is done on the occasion of the mušem, "patronal fair" of the saint in Mez'ud'a. Nothing is lacking of the

[Ait Lh'sen]

/254 cont./

794 Cazzeb, for which correspondences are abundant in Maghrebi
796 ethnology (1).
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1. Mzabite clerks are I^cazzšben. The verb indicates segregation, whether it be basically moral, as in the above case, or results from economic features, as in the case of the latifundium with an absentee master and forming, in relation to the village, an "écart" /place apart/ (Maghreb: Cazib; Egypt: Cezbe).

- 128 But one cannot enlarge here on an order of practices in which are distinguished the exercise of a universalist religion and that of a speciality of initiatory aspect. Even if it is significant to find at the outset this genre of facts at the threshold of a study of the ritual life in a montagnard group, other traits touching more directly on the life of the group as such must hold one's attention for the moment.

796 The space of the canton is dominated, either in its subdivisions
(634) or in its ensemble, by such-and-such a saint. Patron inherited from ancient traditions, like Lalla Aziza, protectress of all the Seksawa, or contractual patron, like sidi Ah'med u Ali for the a. Lh'sen. These patron saints often have exclusive tastes and try to eliminate one another. The man struggles in this rivalry. So much the better for him if he succeeds in the right choice. For there, too, there is a portion of outbidding, guile, and gambling.

798 Moreover, each group founds the bulk of its religious existence upon the qualification of certain places. First of all, those where one takes an oath, and which common opinion hierarchizes according to the /255/ greater or lesser gravity of the ordeals that are celebrated there. These are mosques or anonymous mausoleums designated only by their function. Other sites are reputed benefic or malefic, protectors or avengers, according to the ambivalence of this genre of ideas, and completed quite often by a figure or by a saint's name.

/256 cont./

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Finally, third remark, and most important for the rest of this work, there is, not truly speaking in all the agglomerations, but in all the villages, a municipal sanctuary, the place par excellence of the functioning of the group. And in many the ritual life amounts to -- at least for all that touches upon the plane of village life -- periodical manifestations confirming, according to a rhythm which is that of the seasons, the juridical safeguard, the agrarian order, and the collective ardor.

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The distinction of the old Varron into di certi /the certain/ and di incerti /the uncertain/ comes to mind at this time. It conveniently labels the two aspects of the contrast that comes out between a personal and impersonal sacred, the latter greatly predominating, it seems, in the mass. In spite of its coarseness, the method of inventories is capable of contributing some cross-checks here.

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Let us judge this by this table of the ritual life in some other taqbilt-s.

For example, the a. Abdella:

/See the following pages, pp. 358-359, for the table from p. 257 in the original source./

[Ait H'adduyws]

/259 cont./

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c) Three mosques particularly armed with powers, and presenting along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the taqbilt more directly into play. Thus, the timezgida Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâma of Alus. One is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Saint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 ritual places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight!

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The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into some thirty ikhs-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggahi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional.

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It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

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Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, I. Geryun, Imt'd-dan, a. Lh'sen, Ibuban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is, a total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of timezgida," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

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Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this timezgida remains par excellence the place of the life of the group, one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can

/289 cont./

794 The fund coming from all these contributions is subjected among foqra to egalitarian division. They put it together with the product of the offerings, oboles, etc., collected all during the year in the box, rrbi^c, placed in the zaouia, under the name of tisura, plural of tasarut, literally: "keys," analogous to the Arabic futūh 'āt. This benefice is defined by those interested as a lh'obū, "pious foundation." The analogy is only a rough one.

794 Violent competitions between rightful claimants, on one hand,
578 between moqaddem and other beneficiaries, on the other /290/
hand, between men and women also often arise and necessitate the intervention of justice. One of these conflicts broke out in 1949 and had to be settled by the assembly of all the Sekawa, constituted as a supreme court, as parties interested in the highest degree by the questions touching upon their saint. An initial deduction of one tenth was set apart for widows and daughters in a state of need, the rest forming the object of an egalitarian division among all the foyers, with the reserve of a preference share for the moqaddem.

The Legend

793 The largest part of the revenues come at the great moments
794 of collective tension of the two annual feasts. But before even
796 describing these two feasts, and first from the outside, before any
• [128] interpretation, as it is time to become acquainted with the legend, I shall give below the account of it that was collected about forty years ago, with an exactitude not suspected of sociological ambition, by the French naturalist Brives, the memory of whom still survives in the valley because he was "the friend" of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, 1909, pp. 256 sq.

We are on the terrace of a house which faces, from the other side of a ravine, that of the saint. All the terraces blaze out

796 /308 cont./
time applause, or rather what we would call a ban /measured applause/ (1).

1. For this society knows "applause," ch-chamkha. Expression of the mountebank, "A ban!", chchamkhat fili-h, a locution in which Arabic and Chleuh /Shluh/ blend.

[794] In the enormous hubbub of the crowd and animals, a note of youthful and poignant tenderness coming from the heart sometimes rises on a single tone: some ti'aleb invoking the name of God. From the level of the crowd, of the commune, of the rural feast, this cry rises to another plane. It escapes the sociology of groups.

128 /309/

III. Individual Depassments

God among the Seksawa

"A god understood is not a god (1)."

1: R. Otto, Le Sacré /The Sacred/,
tr. 1929, p. 45.

And this study would abandon the essential if it were limited to the rites, to the figures, in a word, to what can be apprehended from outside. On the inside resides the tremendum, "the mystery that makes one tremble."

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781 On an August night a multitude descended the escarpments of the Tichka. The festivity, the whole day, was in full swing. But the signal to return had been given already at the evening meal, for it was better to make the difficult stage of the Tabgurt, a six hours' march, in the coolness. A French visitor, by way of an unbelievable slope with hairpin bends, plunged into darkness that even dulled the trembling glimmer of the candle ends, entrusted himself to his mount. There was nothing else to do. This was an

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781 elephantine mule, which, by precautionary jerks in the darkness, descended something as steep as the stairway of the Sacré-Coeur. The night was filled with cries: an indistinct crowd skipped along the road. One barely glimpsed a few moving spots in passing: whiteness of a garment furtively lighted. Long howls, with a sharp ricochet, cascaded from the rocky walls. Suddenly, all was silent and one heard a pure melodic phrase: stanza or litany. And anew, at 1,500 vertical meters, a clamor was let loose: "hâ, hâ, hâ, â â â..." The crowd came to itself in its cry. The visitor turned to his Mussulman companion, in the daze of the march at three o'clock in the morning. "They are afraid," the other one told him. "Afraid of what?" -- "Of the people of the mountain." -- "Where are they?" -- "You should know that the night is full of them."

781 Panic exaltation, mixed with irrational fear: raw religious moment. Here it was a case of a mass. But it is even more often a case of an individual. From the role of the crowd is then disentangled that of the specialist: marabout, initiate, doctor, t't'aleb, quæstor of science or maker of books of spells. And that of the faithful as person is disentangled.

• 128 /310/ Now, no one knows what takes place in the conscience of the Chleuh /Shluh/ when he prays, joins a brotherhood, pays a visit to the tomb of the saints. Or, what comes back to the same thing, one is reduced to knowing it by intuition. More scientifically, one would only have a choice between two methods: either the approximation by the numerous and arduous paths of modern psychology, which is not practicable for the moment; or a partial analysis, conscious of its discontinuity. In fact, that is the only path that remains open. If we were to neglect it, it would be better to refer to the descriptive literature, or, better still, to the talent of the novelist, in case one could be found to make felt, thanks to the suggestions of the fable, an infinitely synthetic and hidden reality (1).

1. See, for example, in another domain, some short stories of Ahmed Sefroui, and especially the work of François Bonjean.

/310 cont./

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At least this method of blanks and full parts, to which it is indeed necessary to resign oneself here, as in other parts of this work, has one good thing: the lack of presumption. Also it is not only honest fear and reverence before the complexity of the matter. On particular points it will venture to affirm; on others it will hesitate, which perhaps will be more instructive. Finally, on others, it will have to upset recognized ideas and open new debates. But, above all, as positive as it proves to be regarding certain results, it is of merit only through its methodological doubt concerning the ensemble.

And this ensemble is one of these domains that North African science has indeed only timidly approached, unless it treated them haughtily with disdain.

Stages of the Sacred

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And here, from the very first, are two opinions that confront each other. According to the one, which an option of primitivism has devoted, not without success sometimes, to certain aspects of a society that stands out over other Maghrebi societies, more "evolved," less "pure" or simply less "curious," the magico-religious structures of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed Berbère /Berber/ world in the larger sense, dominate its law, its economy, its folklore, and even its language.

According to the other opinion, it is by an avowed profane character, a laic orientation of the institutions, and, in any case, their relative independence with regard to the religion and its marvels that such a milieu affirms its original nature.

To attempt to resolve such an opposition of tendencies through a /311/ choice or a conciliation between its two terms is, without any doubt, one of the most important interlocutory necessities of an investigation, were it limited to the Seksawa.

Now, the course of this work will perhaps have prepared us to approach the problem. It is not in a transactional eclecticism that one must, I believe, look for its solution. But with the assistance of one of the most constant laws that it has been granted

792 /322 cont./
[776] Sibā^c 1 is a saint whose memory survives at the zaoula of Taker-
kuzt (1).

1. Today submerged by the waters of the dam of the Nffis.

to the S. of Marrakech, from where this volume comes. This mu^cāchāra that the exaltation of a young soul solicits is the initiatory commerce.

- 128 Let us thereupon terminate the study of religious structures, the outline of which would have remained inexact if, besides their connections to the rural group, one had not also mentioned what they let pass in sallies beyond this group. All that we can say now no longer concerns the Seksawa, not even the Chleuhs /Shluh/ as such. Let us give the floor to E. Dermenghem, explorer touched by Maghrebi holiness.

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A Juridical System

I. Techniques of Settlement

Let us go back some thirty years, that is, before the institution of the present Tribunaux Coutumiers /Customary Courts/. That is little for a historical investigation. It is sufficient, nevertheless, to reveal a triple order of phenomena, corresponding to three layers of the social reality, as well as to three kinds of techniques.

- 691
[692] Let us first set aside the more or less important litigations in which the authority, jemāa, amghar, or moqaddem, arrogates to itself the decision. The expansion of personal power is limited here by a very strict tradition concerning the devolutions of competence. As will be seen, it is above all a question of matters concerning the public order, that is, bringing into play the internal structure of the group or its combination with neighboring groups. A second category of litigations, the most common ones in a rural society, is under the jurisdiction of sworn law. We

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695 initial act, here called silla, recopied "for fear of destruction by
175 wear," has it witnessed by six persons, and furnishes the whole
with three rudimentary responsa justifying the operation. This
evidently took place in the sixteenth century. In the space of
the generation that had just passed, the insufficiency of the for-
mer oral stipulation, with magico-religious sanction, plunging
into the solidarity of the jemla, and doubtlessly illustrated by
the rite evoked by the word du^ca', has been pronounced. The
son lives in a milieu with notarial preoccupations and formalizes
the paternal foundation by reutilizing, but this time as witnesses,
the names of former coswearers.

[128] Truthfully speaking, one isolated document could not suffi-
ciently establish the hypothesis. The impropriety of the terms
used by scribes knowing Arabic only moderately can moreover
falsify the interpretation of the first text (1).

1. As-Suktāni, Ajwiba, ms. from the zaouia
of the Ud ^cAbdalmawla, who was interested
in several of these technical notions as a result
of the numerous epistolary relations that he
maintained as consultant with the justiciaries
of tribes still plunged in custom, bāb ach-
chahādāt, pp. 135 sq., seems to use murd'iy
in the sense of "accepted witness." But this
whole affair is extremely confused. Although
allusion is frequently made to wathā'iq for-
mularies, practice often stops at the single
witness and at the interferences between the
oath and testimony (p. 140 b.).

But quite disturbing chronological coincidences confer upon it a
certain weight. It is known that the genre of the Formularies is a
genre peculiarly Moroccan. Its vein runs throughout the cultural
history of six centuries, from the Wathā'iq of al-Mattī'ī to the
recent commentary of the Fir^cūfiya. At what time did this art

/352 cont./

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671 agrarian order, has survived up to us. But on the juridical plane, it has finally suffered, more than the group, from the invasion of the notarial writing. And its contest with the economic chances of the individual still endures, and becomes bitter. If it were ever able — a stage /353/ quite hypothetical — to preside over a form of this society where everything agreed harmoniously around it, ritual autonomy of the patriarchal family, hagiology of ancestors, law of agnatic type, that collapsed long since. One has [178] the impression that for four centuries at least, in the place of what one can imagine of the ancient ikhs, the society has been undone or, more exactly, redone (1).

[171] 1. These reactions of the group to the gens, sometimes by legislative means, are known in classical Antiquity, where they constitute in short the essential of "reforms" that intervene here and there. Durkheim has profoundly noted it, Ann. soc., t. VI, pp. 324 sq., 373 sq., apropos the Athenian genè and phyla. We shall return to this idea in our conclusions.

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Land Law

Double Character of This Law

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[128] The maintenance of the agnatic group in its landed position will be the central motif of this chapter. But a total liberty of landed-property operations surrounds this motif with a fringe of lesser application or even of contradiction. In extreme cases 423
181 mobilization and alienation of the land intervene, and put in play a passionate contractual individualism. This is an important theme of these societies. It interferes with the one, no less important, of communitarian permanence. Both react constantly with each other. Hence contrasts and antitheses, at which a superficial view might stop, but we shall try to see if their

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175 Intellectual, technical, and linguistic shock. Simultaneous-
121 ly a phenomenon better understood agitated all of Morocco. This was the reaction of the masses before the Christian enterprises of the littoral. New burst of hagiology. The "tireurs" /marksmen, drawers/ pursued in the most remote cantons their confreric training. Saints swarmed. Their high-colored figure formed the synthesis between the Islamic universals and the ritual forces of the canton. Thus, the great South "pole," *sidi Ah'med u Musa*. Although, since the *Mérinides*, the *Seksawa* mountains remained in a fierce isolation, one cannot grant that they remained completely apart. There, as undoubtedly elsewhere in the *Sous*, the man of God and the warrior, with the rural notary, henceforth made up a /394/ triptych by which this society expected to resolve its contrasts.

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(177) At the same time there arrived in the depths of lost valleys, in the form of new plants, or new money, some of the great movements that were then shaking the world: plant revolution of maize, attraction of the great colonial exploitation with sugar cane, appeal of the factories of the littoral, latest triumphs of the importation of Sudanese gold. All this created a conjuncture of a singular power, which corresponds in the chronicles to the rise of these petty marabouts of the bend of the *Drâ*, the *Saâdians*. Node of economy, of institution, of spirituality, of event. Can one go back farther? This is what, too hypothetically without doubt, one has attempted to do.

Ideals and Comportments

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• (128) Let us now jump four or five centuries to carry ourselves to the beginning of the twentieth. Let us abandon the historical re-constitution and the analysis of the actual institution in order to perceive the morality. Is it already too late? Here is what we
(184) can observe in any one of the *Seksawa taqbilt-s*.

(571) All personal existence here is enclosed in the confused ensemble of affective relations. Wasps' nest of comportments, all having their moral-qualification, as well as their economic

/447 cont./

182 climate. On the other hand, a powerful and artful social control governs a milieu of furious and perpetual discussion. Here again, which is the basic aspect, and which is the derived aspect? These "survivals" of an ancient stage, little by little drowned by the afflux of the modern, would they not instead be reconstructions?

121 Up to here we have reserved the answer, which involves our
128 entire conception of these people and their history. It is now going to be necessary to choose between two possible explanations. Already the coexistence of such characteristics seemed to us to dismiss the hypothesis of a simple development, of a uniform construction. But there is more. Anachronism, ruptures in tone, contrasts are not only constant here, but regular, and almost systematic. Everything happens as if this society were seeking, by internal compensation, the re-establishment, of an equilibrium and the maintenance of an autonomy. Attraction to newness, submission to violence or to the seduction of others are compounded here with the safeguarding of the personality by excess in the opposite direction. The archaizing reaction depends on modernism.

What discordances in any case! This man is a citizen, devoted to universal values, advanced in the mobilization of rights, newcomer at legislative debate, at laicity. And the commune controls and penalizes comportments which, at this degree of individualism, should be free, and in fact believe they are. For example, it maintains the equilibrium of the patrimonies between agnatic groups. But the latter have lost most of their power even in domestic morality or economy. Same control /448/ over the play of saving, investment, revendication. These activities yield to a communitarian ethic, while everywhere else, and within themselves, the exacting initiative of the person reigns. The archaism of a penal law collectively administered exists in spite of all changes, indeeds draws a new rigor from it.

Can all this be considered the effect of chance, or even of unequal evolutions? We believe rather that unconscious regressions, compensatory or retrograde courses, invention of forms and modes, finally all these a posteriori movements reveal the elaboration and

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Bibliography

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This study is based above all upon direct investigation, visits, judicial practice, research into local traditions and local archives. It has attempted, as often as possible, to compare the Seksawa facts with other facts from the Maghreb. But it would deform its character to widen to such a domain a systematic bibliography. The latter should be reduced to sources where it is directly a question of the country and of the people. It has thus eliminated, in spite of all that we owe them, a certain number of general works. For analogous reasons, finally, it disregards sources that are not contemporaneous or bear on a distant past; we have utilized them in an article on the "Antiquités Seksawa," *Hesp.*, 1953, pp. 359-417, to which one can go back for references.

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I. -- Cartography

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The reconnaissance map at 1/100,000 is summary, and its toponymy defective. In 1950, however, the "aerial covering" of the region was carried out by the Institut géographique national at a scale of approximately 1/40,000. In addition, one has available the works of:

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J. Dresch, "Croquis orographique du grand Atlas occidental /Orographic outline of the great western Atlas/, " at 1/100,000, and "Croquis structural, " at 1/200,000, in Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le Massif Central Du grand Atlas /Documents on the ways of mountain life in the Central Massif of the great Atlas/, Tours, Arrault and Cie., 1941, 2 vol., in-4^o, 40 p., 12 mpas, publ. by the Institut des Hautes Études marocaines, t. XXXV.

II. -- The Physical Milieu

J. Célérier, "La montagne au Maroc, essai de définition et de classification /The mountains in Morocco, attempt at

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121 the heritage of the lords. Most often it was the sherifian power
114 that maintained the struggle of the chiefs and tribes by its encouragement or its indirect influence. The appearance of the great kaids in Berbère /Berber/ country thus made us a witness at the successive phases of the constitution of the Empire.

Consequently, a study mission devoted to the tribes of northern Morocco during the revolt of 'Abd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ in 1925 and 1926, then two additional years of research in the Anti-Atlas, the Dadès, and on the coast of the Sous and of the Tekna were to allow us to complete the observations that we had been able to make /x/ at first; we were led to establish numerous comparisons between the institutions of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and those of the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala /Jebala/, the Rif, and Kabylia, so as to extend the scope of our conclusions to the greatest part of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/. The facts that have served to make up the books II and III of this work were collected in this way.

128 It remained for us to make knowledge of these obscure
121 struggles in the interior of a distant and little-known province of the Sherifian Empire more accessible to the reader not very familiar with the aspects of Berbère /Berber/ life and of the history of the Maghreb. Here, in our first book, we have tried, without worrying about making a geographical study, to tell simply, but with all the development that seemed desirable to us, what the general conditions of existence and the primitive civilization of the populations established in the region where we multiplied our investigations were; likewise, while dismissing the project of writing an actual history of the Moroccan South -- impossible to compose because of the insufficiency of sources -- we also thought that it would be useful to sketch the picture of the great struggles of the past for which it was the theater.

121 In fact, it is difficult, even for a specialist, to put together easily and to interpret the principal indications that the historians and chroniclers give us about the life of a land far from the great capitals and that are found scattered in a large number of works;

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12 borrowed valuable information on the customary law; Mr. G. S. Colin, professor at the Institut des Hautes-Études marocaines and at the École des Langues orientales vivantes /School of Modern Oriental Languages/, who willingly communicated to us important manuscript notes on the land of the Ghomara, the Koutama, and the Srair Senhaja; Commandant Portillo, of the "Intervenciones militares" of the Spanish zone of the Protectorate, who so kindly facilitated for us a visit to the country of the Jbala /Jebala/.

• 128 Finally, our friends H. Terrasse, A. Basset, J. Célérier have had the goodness to look over our manuscript and many times made useful suggestions; we beg them to believe in our heartfelt gratitude.

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114 It is impossible for us to pass over in silence the welcome, so often earnest and friendly, that was accorded to us in the poor mountain villages by our innumerable informants or, in the casbahs, by the greatest number of tribal leaders. In order to give us the information that we were trying to collect, some quite often had to manifest a courage, others to demonstrate /xvi/ in us a confidence which did not fail to be meritorious. If, in the following pages, we have sometimes happened to express our sympathy for certain forms of the Berbères' /Berbers'/ social life in preference to others, at least we have tried here to judge the institutions rather than the men. The latter are worth more than the former, and more than once, in leaving the house of a kaid, or still more often at the threshold of the humble dwelling of an Atlas sheik, after long hours spent with the Berbères to evoke the ancient struggles, we felt the regret of leaving behind us friends whom time and distance would never permit us to see again.

/24/

Chapter II

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The Population of the Moroccan South

- I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century).
- II. The ethnic struggles of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.
- III. The domination and the decline of the Arabs.
- IV. The interior displacements.
- V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohesion of the social groups.
- VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets).
- VII. The house.
- VIII. The family.
- IX. The social classes.
- X. The economic life.
- XI. The religious life.
- XII. The intellectual life.

101

Isolated from the sea by the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/, limited by the chains of mountains, inside which nature has provided men with inaccessible refuges, the Sous may appear at first sight to the eyes of a foreign observer as a region separated from the rest of Morocco, the habitat of a single human group of the same origin, which subsisted while keeping intact, within inviolate frontiers, its customs and its laws. The existence of an ethnic type with fairly well defined characteristics could, in ignorance of the history, maintain this illusion.

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It happens, on the contrary, that the relative uniformity that characterizes human life in the south of Morocco results from the intimate mixture of families and tribes of diverse origin, from the repeated confrontation of invaders and autochthons, from the opposition of the sedentary peoples of the plains and mountains to the nomads coming from the desert by way of the western Anti-Atlas, the route of the oases of the Dra and of the Zagmouzen or the coastal route of the Haha.

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The successive phases of the peopling of the Sous thus form the hidden web of history. We shall try to point them out here, by interpreting the often obscure and incomplete documents that have reached us; then we shall try to describe the most general aspects of the existence of men in a land that has /unpaginated map appears here/ /25/ ended up by acquiring, after long internal struggles, a unity of language, beliefs, and culture.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 34 1

/139 cont./

175 In the same period, and up to the establishment of a caliph-
*631 ate of the sultan at Tiznit in the last years of the nineteenth
178 century, the villages of the plains and irrigated oases, such as
Massat, M'ader, Aglou, Tiznit, had also kept their democratic
[619] organization intact. Without doubt these small tribes, which
[578] were like melting pots into which the most diverse elements
from mountain and plain came to be blended, were torn by in-
ternal party struggles. But perpetual anarchy did not succeed
destroying the vitality of these surprising republics, ceaselessly
divided, ceaselessly reconstituted (1).

1. Cf. our study on the tribe of Massat, Hespéris, 1924, 4th quarter.

It was only the constant presence of the Sultan's representatives, after the expeditions of Moulay el Hasan, the desolation of famines and epidemics at the time of El Hiba, and above all the abrupt re-establishment of the order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ since 1916 that could have caused the inner life of past times to disappear. Here again, it would suffice to question the old men in order to know what this country was before being reduced to the state of dismal passivity which at present no longer distinguishes it from the most submissive regions of the Empire.

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*631 /140/ VII. The successive phases of the transformation of the South of Morocco. -- It was not the desire to use a convenient method of exposition of our subject that led us to imagine the fiction of a walk across the Sous under the guidance of companions of the great kaids, then that of an ascent on one of the mountain summits, thanks to the information of the inhabitants of the high valleys. In reality, we were able in this way to examine the two opposite aspects of the country, that of the Atlas seen from Marrakech, as the Makhzen and the chiefs perceive it or wish to describe it, and that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, whose number and vitality one can get to observe only by slipping away from the official guides for an instant and, on the contrary, casting one's eyes from the highest regions toward the plain.

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The contrast of these two pictures will now permit us to understand better the successive phases of the country's transformation.

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In a region that was formerly similar to the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura, the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, at first very slow at the beginning of the nineteenth century, rushed along for two generations among the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. Formerly it had as agents kuids settled at the foot of the mountains, whose influence, often discussed, was penetrating into the Atlas through the great valleys. For fifty years it had above all been the work of autochthonous chiefs acting in the heart of the country, with a power that later became almost unlimited. One then saw clashing with assemblies of notables, expressing the will of the tribes, kuids speaking in the name of the Sultan, and acting with a force unknown up to then, through the agency of caliphates and sheiks; almost always the establishment of sherifian authority had as a consequence the rapid destruction of local traditions and customs.

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But it was particularly at the time of the development of Moroccan anarchy, during the first years of the twentieth century, that the transformation imposed by the conquest was more violent.

[726]

The furious wars that were waged by the three great chiefs of the Atlas on one another for the possession of the tribes accentuated still more the importance of the changes that had taken place. At the same time the domination of the great kuids hardened; soon a powerful feudal façade appeared, which masked from us the existence of independent groups and concealed from us the deep unity of the social structure of the whole /141/ country. It was then that the French policy of penetration into the South of Morocco, supported by the Makhzen /makhzan/, found interested auxiliaries in the person of the great kuids. This clever rally permitted them for ten years to consolidate their power further and to apply themselves to making, by energetic domination, everything that might recall the too-recent origins of their power disappear from our sight.

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villages and hamlets, the hierarchical organization of Berbère /Berber/ society does not present characteristics of absolute uniformity, which, moreover, would be irreconcilable with the variety of life. Thus, sometimes confederations do not exist, and tribes /149/ represent the largest groups; at other times, small units having the average dimensions of a "fraction" are found in the high mountains, independent and isolated; finally, it happens that big villages like those that develop at the beginning of high valleys have sufficient importance to form sub-fractions by themselves. These exceptions, moreover, mark with more force the individuality of the various groups whose nature we shall try to define here.

From now on it must be noted that the Berbères /Berbers/ scarcely know how to apply distinct names to these various organisms that the needs of our administrative policy oblige us to distinguish. They most often designate them by the vague term of "taqbilt" (1).

1. Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "qbila," tribe. One will be able to note that the terms of the political vocabulary of the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous are nearly all Arabic: "taqbilt," "mouda^c," "jemaa," "moqaddem," etc.

The terms of subfraction, fraction, tribe, confederation exist only in our administrative terminology; we shall define each of these groups by its institutions. The term "fraction" is, as one will see, particularly inappropriate, since this little state -- whose name implies that it is the part of a whole, the tribe -- actually has more definite characteristics than the higher organism.

For this reason we shall often use here the term "canton" in preference to "fraction."

and in their minds these social groups that we are striving to separate in order to understand their nature better are simple

/149 cont./

621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
 *634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
 632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
 *631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
 619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Afifen," that of
 •128 the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social
 829 organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

Very often the people who make up the States are regarded
 as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aît Ou 'Azzoun,
 *634 Aît Zekri, Aît 'Atta (2),
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2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show
 the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gou'azzoun,
 alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the
 Aît Ou'azzoun; among the Aît 'Atta, the
 tomb of Dadda 'Atta on the banks of the
 middle Dra.

whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
 [829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
 [101] ignated -- Id Brahîm -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif,
 [114] seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
 of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/
 society, whose value we have already questioned and which we
 shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover ap-
 pear to us only as a "prenotion."

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
 128 the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the
 summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan
 near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved
 and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting
 aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall
 strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of
 Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure.
 Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision
 indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

/150 cont./

121 local institutions before they were broken up by the advance of
• 128 the personal power of the chiefs and of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
It will then be easy for us to extend our observations to the rest
of the Sous region of our day, transformed by submission, as well
as to the still-free mountains of the Anti-Atlas.

Finally, a rapid comparison with the country of the Jbala of
the north of Morocco, the Rif, and the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the
Djurjura will permit perceiving the unity of social structure of
the largest part of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

Doubtless it will sometimes happen in the course of this study
of the social morphology that we shall simplify some aspects of
the life of these little superposed organisms, in order to mark
better the nature of the characteristics that permit them to be
distinguished. Therefore one must be aware that the value of our
classifications is only approximate and that we must often limit
ourselves to defining "average types," while neglecting the indi-
vidual forms that sometimes diverge from them somewhat because
they have the variety inherent in all that lives, is born, grows,
and disappears. Besides, people will not be surprised that our ob-
servations do not always enable us to explain the facts by clear
and logical notions, which are unknown by the primitives. The
bonds that connect a Berbère /Berber/ to his fraction, to his tribe,
to his confederation call on representations that sometimes seem
to us obscure or even contradictory; consequently the small states
defined by these bonds will sometimes appear to us in indistinct
aspects, very different from the ones whose nature we should like
to describe by means of precise and positive characteristics.

621 /151/ II. Hamlet, village, subfraction. -- The social units
easiest to define are the smallest, and it is particularly easy to
observe the life of the hamlet, village, and subfraction whose
activity is limited to the circumstances of daily life.

[361] In all the mountains of the Masmouda, most of the inhabitants
of the valleys live grouped in small hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths,
constructed on the sunlit slopes or on a detached peak or a high
rock, in a spot propitious for defense.

/183 cont./

616 same time abandoning the old mountain traditions and forgetting
 177 the hatreds of their fathers. It is necessary to appeal to the in-
 178 habitants of the Tichka valleys still unsubjugated in order to col-
 124 lect easily the information that interests us; in these tribes, the
 children themselves know the allied or hostile "taqbilt" that sur-
 round their canton, and for a few years longer, in the territory of
 the former confederation of the Genfisa, the institution of the
 leffs keeps the importance it had in former times in all the moun-
 tains of the Masmouda.

121 Reconstituting the map of the mountain leffs is, however, a
 124 job for great patience. By questioning the old men, we succeed
 616 only in discovering the alliances of each "taqbilt," whose politi-
 *634 cal horizon never extends beyond the four or /184/ five cantons
 of the vicinity. It is thus necessary to multiply the inquiries in
 all the valleys in order to get to know the distribution of the op-
 posed parties in the whole of the great chain. In this research our
 best informants are, moreover, often the most modest. The chiefs
 of tribes who know best the invaluable chessboard do not like to
 unveil what they regard as the secret of their strength and of their
 weakness; and when by chance they consent to talk about their
 leff, one perceives that the representation of it that they make to
 themselves is completely utilitarian and takes into account espe-
 cially their personal friendships and hates rather than the most re-
 liable traditions.

121 Moreover, in putting together all these partial inquiries, we
 *634 sometimes find contradictions whose cause is at first inexplicable.
 616 It happens, in fact, that in comparing the results collected in
 128 various parts of the country one ascertains that fractions counted
 here as belonging to the same leff are elsewhere regarded as
 enemies; the correlation of the various systems of regional alli-
 ances that we can discover fails in the whole of the chain. The
 map that we can establish for these alliances of cantons thus forms
 a kind of mosaic whose various parts are as if broken and do not fit
 together exactly. In this case, it is by calling on the history of
 [175] the tribes for three generations that one can get to resolve these
 000 difficulties. Having reached this point in the investigation, one

* 634 /274 cont./
556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
434 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
661 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar
by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself con-
strained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot ac-
quire in his own canton.

[651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[486] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the
[558] cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and
to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the
Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself --
at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the
"taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be
found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new sub-
jects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of com-
bat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single
chief.

* 634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
661 where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
721 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to re-
571 ceive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to
[574] augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous,
entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to
seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and
the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in
difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for
[616] sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the
support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the
service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts
in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles,
he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its
defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
* 634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontast,

/275 cont./

121 who appeared about 1860, that of a minor amghar of the Seksawa.
 *634 El Hajj Hafid of the canton of the Idma, grown great at the time
 •128 of the rivalry of the kaids of the Mtougga and of the Nefis at the
 beginning of the present century. finally, the spectacle of the
 rivalries of the amghars of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg for 80
 years will make us understand better what help the opposition
 of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs brings to the ambitious.

175 IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860).
 *634 -- At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the country
 616 of the Nefis was still placed under the distant authority of the
 kaids of Agergour, of the tribe of the /276/ Ouzgita of the Jbel
 Kik, the villages that rise in the mountains on both sides of the
 valley belonged, according to the cantons, to the two leffs of
 the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." From the Aghbar to the
 entrance of the wadi into the plain, these cantons of the two
 parties alternated regularly, and nowhere did the "checkerboard"
 of Berbère /Berber/ rivalries achieve so perfect an equilibrium
 between the two alliances. Each group obeyed a minor amghar
 who held power both from the Makhzen /makhzan/ and from the
 notables, and succeeded in establishing a just balance between
 the opposite tendencies of the two forms of government.

175 About 1850 the war between the two leffs, the "Aït Atman"
 *634 and the "Aït Iraten," became extremely violent between Tinmel
 616 and Agergour, and the minor chief of the canton of Toug el Khir
 726 won out over his enemy of the Targa n Aït Iraten, who perished
 in the combat. The defeated "Aït Iraten" of Targa and of the
 Asif Amezghouni then called on their leff brothers from the
 cantons of Alla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert, in the Haut-Atlas
 /High Atlas/, who came in large numbers, under the command
 of their amghars, to help them in the name of the ancient bonds.

175 One of these amghars, El Hajj Ahmed n Aït Lhasen, descend-
 159 ant of a taleb of the Anti-Atlas, who had formerly come into the
 *634 valley of the Nefis in the capacity of village fqih /faqih/, was
 commanding the group of the four small hamlets of Gokten,
 Wiglit, Isqalen, Artatein, to which one gives the name of Tagon-
 taft. El Hajj Ahmed, who was both a respected fqih /faqih/ and

/325 cont./

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178 It is by an alliance with the Sultan that we are going to see the chief of the Atlas continue his ambitious career and carry his tribe along to distant and profitable conquests, the consequence of which is the ruin of the country.

000 /326/

Chapter III

The Great Berbère /Berber/ Kaids of the Mountains

- I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1883). -- II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). -- III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy (1850-1894). -- IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire (1902-1913). -- VI. Submission to France. -- VII. The internal organization of a large command. The casbahs. -- VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands. -- X. The transformation of the customs. -- XI. The great kaids' policy of conquest. -- XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aft Waouzgit). -- XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- XVI. Does a Berbère /Berber/ feudality exist? -- XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs.

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*631 In the course of the last years of the nineteenth century one could see rising at the same time, in the various parts of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ where up to here we have looked for the most numerous examples of the appearance and development of the "amghars," great chiefs who, in the name of the Sultan, conquered large territories. Their power marks the last form of transition between the old tribal organization and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

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*631 It is possible for us to follow, for about 50 years, the endeavors that these Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains pursued in order to increase their power in the South of Morocco, to

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121 enslave their subjects, and to mingle in the life of the Empire.
•128 This study allows us moreover to observe the similarity of the
*631 rules that control the organization of their commands and of
their conquests. With respect to the Makhzen /makhzan/, they
preserve a surprising parallelism in their attitudes and policy, so
that one will rightfully be able to speak, from the time of the
entering of Marrakech by the French, of the "regime of the great
chiefs."

121 Before examining the form taken by the domination that the
128 new /327/ masters of the mountains exercise over the tribes, and
175 which marks the ruin of the Berbère /Berber/ republics and the
*631 overturning of the traditional social organization, we must first
retrace the successive stages of the career of the great chiefs.
Four distinct periods can be considered: up to the end of Moulay
el Hasan's reign, they are content to increase their forces in their
tribes without manifesting their ambitious projects and are hardly
to be distinguished from the other minor kaid of the vicinity.
175 During the first part of the reign of Moulay 'Abd el 'Aziz, from
*631 1894 to 1902, we see them throw themselves separately into the
[648] conquest of the best regions of the country that are found in the
vicinity of their casbahs; then, when anarchy breaks out in the
whole Empire, from the war of Bou Hamara up to the moment
when order is re-established at Marrakech by Colonel Mangin's
victory in 1912, they multiply the distant expeditions, fight
jealously among themselves in order to keep their conquests, to
obtain command of the tribes long subject to the Makhzen /makh-
zan/, and compete in order to make their candidates win the
supreme power of the Empire. Finally, after agreeing to serve
the Protectorate, they finish consolidating their establishment;
they hardly dream anymore except of obtaining from their sub-
jects the resources necessary for the life that they lead with their
relatives and companions in their large fortresses of the Atlas or
their rich houses in Marrakech.

128 It will be suffice for us here to outline, during each of these
*631 periods, separated from one another by dynastic events, the
policy followed in their domains by the three mountain chiefs.

/365 cont./

121 the plains no longer appears in a precise manner. Henceforth the
178 independence of old is all over. The traditional organization in
the Dir of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is no more than a memory
in our day, while it is prolonged by mere survivals in the region
of the summits.

*631 We shall now see the central government intervene in a
648 more and more direct fashion in the life of the Sous. The pasha
of the Marrakech casbah, the autoclithonous or foreign kaid,
changed and recalled according to the ruler's whims, have be-
come masters of the country; to make themselves obeyed, they
have the forces of their slaves, of the Arab "gich," or of the
harkas, and intervene without circumspection, in order to make
the taxes come in and to repress revolts. Such is the hard reality
with which the last reactions of the formerly autonomous com-
munities of the South of Morocco clash.

128 It remains for us to describe in the pages that follow the form
648 of the new power and to show what its means of action, its habi-
tudes, and its traditions are in the political role that it is hence-
177 forth going to play in the tribes. It goes without saying that we
178 shall not try /366/ to redo one more time the tableau of the
former Makhzen /makhzan/, with its picturesque and out-of-date
court, its palace intrigues, the abuses that it maintained, the
skillful disorder in which it kept Morocco in order to use it better
for its own ends, through the revolts and internal crises that ended
up by ruining the Sherifian Empire. The travelers who crossed
the country before the establishment of the Protectorate, Foucauld,
Segonzac, and especially Erckmann, have given a painting of the
old government of the shorfa /shurfa/ so faithful that is useless to
try to fill it in. Here we shall only try to tell what the action of
the Makhzen has been on the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South
of Morocco and how it has finished modifying the social condition
of the populations of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and of the in-
terior plain of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

000 I. The Sultan and his court. -- The name of the central
government, the "Makhzen," magazine /Fr. magasin/, indicates
by its very etymology the idea of an institution fashioned above

/394 cont./

121 of the Atlas contained between the col of the Glawa and the Tizi
171 Ma'cho, actually offers us /395/ the spectacle of the simultane-
* 631 ous appearance of a large number of minor chiefs who manage
* 634 exceptionally well to consolidate their authority and to banish for
[178] a time the tradition of egalitarian republics. Soon, however, a
complete evolution takes shape before our eyes: in the course of
the last 20 years, one could observe all the forms of transition be-
tween the humble amghars, masters of a few villages sequestered
under the walnut trees in the depths of the gorges of the Atlas,
and the great kaids, possessors of large tribes, who, from the
depths of their casbahs, govern the states that they have conquered
[648] by force. The latter moreover in their turn pave the way, by
ruining the ancient institutions by means of which they took
power, for the arrival of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the estab-
lishment of a unified Mussulman Empire, whose laws seem to us
similar to those of the great Oriental monarchies.

In the course of the first part of our study on the Berbère
/Berber/ republics, and when we tried to become acquainted with
the circumstances under which the temporal power of the canton
amghars appears, we were able to multiply the comparisons
between the Sous, the Rif, and Kabylie /Kabylia/. But during
this short period that saw the rapid development of the authority
of the great chiefs in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it seemed to
us that we were in the presence of a political regime almost un-
known, at least in recent epochs, in the other regions of North
Africa populated by sedentary peoples.

121 Perhaps now, after having analyzed at length the conditions
* 128 under which the power of these "lords of the Atlas" is formed, we
* 631 may try, by casting our eyes farther, to put their domination side
by side with those of the Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms and Empires
whose sudden constitution the history of the Maghreb sometimes
shows us; by comparing successive phases of their growth with that
of the principalities of the Sous, we shall then perceive the deep
causes of the strength and of the weakness of these astonishing
political constructions, looming up so rapidly from the obscurity
of tribal life and which disappear without having succeeded in dis-
turbing in any lasting fashion the immobility of the Maghreb.

/406 cont./

121 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the
 171 prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legisla-
 *631 tion of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies,
 182 the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and
 578 pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can
 648 count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despot-
 ism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the
 Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting
 than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be
 powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenel-
 ated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the
 boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives.
 If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in ex-
 tending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same
 time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba", gradu-
 ally gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the
 eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in
 which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will
 come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new
 order brought about by the French conquest.

/407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. --

792 We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects
 795 of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the ex-
 *631 istence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous
 [175] several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the
 [178] mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

• [128] In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our
 time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the charac-
 teristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to
 have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by
 reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries
 [648] by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we
 must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the
 masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of